

The case for reform is clear. The current force—the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC)—is 93 percent Protestant. The vast majority of Catholics, who make up more than 40 percent of the population in Northern Ireland, do not support it because it does not represent them or protect them and has too often failed them.

Many Catholics believe the RUC has been involved in a long-standing "shoot-to-kill" policy. Questions continue about collusion of the RUC with Protestant paramilitaries in the murder of Patrick Finucane, a defense attorney shot dead in front of his wife and children in 1989. In 1997 RUC officers stood by as Robert Hamill, a young Catholic, was kicked to death by 30 Protestants shouting "kill him" and ethnic slurs. The RUC was shamefully inactive when death threats were made against another defense attorney, Rosemary Nelson, who was later murdered when her car was blown up as she drove to work last year. Many other examples could be cited to demonstrate why Catholics distrust the police.

Northern Ireland's 1998 Good Friday agreement presented a historic opportunity to change all that—to reform the police service and make it representative of the entire community. Under the agreement, an independent eight-member international commission was established, led by a former chairman of the British Conservative Party, Christopher Patten. Its mission was to propose an alternative and create a community-oriented, human rights-based police service that Catholics and Protestants alike would be prepared to join. In September 1999, the Patten Commission published its unanimous report containing 175 recommendations for change.

The assertion has been made that in the current legislation, the British government will implement 95 percent of the Patten's recommendations. But quantity does not measure quality. In fact, the most significant reforms recommended by the commission are not adequately implemented in the legislation.

The commission's task was to balance the desires of each community against what is necessary to create a fair and representative police force. The recommendations of the Patten Commission reflected those compromises. Patten is the compromise. It must not be diluted.

Unfortunately, the British government has done just that. It has made unwise concessions to those of the Protestant majority who still view the police as "theirs," and to the police themselves, who have always resisted reform. If the new police service is to succeed, it must represent and be accepted by the community it serves. Catholics must be convinced they should support and join it. Otherwise, the entire Good Friday agreement is in jeopardy.

As the legislation is considered by the House of Lords, the British government should propose changes to implement fully the Patten recommendations. Among the most obvious:

Name, badge and flag: As Patten recommended, to attract Catholics, the police force should have a neutral name and symbols. The legislation should ensure that the proposed name change to the neutral "Police Service of Northern Ireland" is made for all purposes, not just some purposes. The badge should be free of any association with Great Britain or Ireland, and the British flag should no longer fly above police buildings.

Oversight Commissioner: Patten recommended the appointment of an oversight commissioner to supervise the implementation of its recommendations. Thomas Constantine, former New York State police chief and former head of the U.S. Drug Enforcement

Administration, was recently named oversight commissioner. He should be free to comment on the adequacy of British decisions in implementing the Patten Report—not just oversee the changes made by the government.

Accountability: Patten recommended a new policing board to hold the police accountable and an ombudsman to investigate complaints against and wrongdoing by the police. Restrictions on the board's power to initiate inquiries and investigate past complaints should be eliminated, as should the British government's power to interfere in its work. The ombudsman should be able to investigate police policies and practices—not just report on them.

On June 15 British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland Peter Mandelson wrote, "I remain absolutely determined to implement the Patten recommendations and to achieve the effective and representative policing service—accepted in every part of Northern Ireland—that his report aims to secure." This determination has yet to be convincingly demonstrated.

Full implementation of the recommendations of the Patten Commission is essential to guarantee fair law enforcement and to create a new police service that will have and deserve the trust of all the people of Northern Ireland. It will be a tragedy if this opportunity to achieve a new beginning is lost.

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#### PIERRE ELLIOT TRUDEAU

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, it is often said that Canada and the U.S. share the longest undefended border in the world. While this is repeated so often it has become a cliché, like all clichés, there is a fundamental truth in it. In this case, the fundamental truth is a striking geopolitical reality which Americans do not always appreciate. The peace we enjoy in North America is largely a function of this border.

With our neighbor to the north, we share a border of approximately 4,000 miles, a border that runs through New England and the Great Lakes, through the great forests, plains, and mountains, and along the Alaskan frontier of this rich North American continent. Mutually respected sovereignty is the fundamental basis of peaceful international discourse. But I will add that an undefended border makes for the warmest of relations, and the greatest of respect.

Last Thursday, Canada lost perhaps its best known Prime Minister of recent times, when Pierre Elliott Trudeau died, at the age of 80. For the past week, our neighbors to the north have been in mourning, and I stand today to pay my respects to the family of former Prime Minister Trudeau and to all the citizens of the country he served with singular dedication.

Mr. Trudeau and I did not share a common political tradition, nor did we share a political ideology. This does not diminish my respect for the man and his work one bit. I note, with appreciation, that one of Mr. Trudeau's mottos was "reason before passion," a principle I certainly believe conservative lawmakers would share.

I admired former Prime Minister Trudeau for his dedication to his country, to the rule of law, and to the betterment of the world. In his moving tribute at his father's funeral earlier this week, Justin Trudeau said, "My father's fundamental belief never came from a textbook, it stemmed from his deep love and faith in all Canadians."

Pierre Trudeau led Canada at a tumultuous time in its history and in the history of the world. In 1970, he was confronted with a terrorist, separatist threat from Quebecois extremists. Prime Minister Trudeau—who, in Canadian history, was at the time, only its third of Quebecois descent himself—was a dedicated federalist and, even more fundamentally, dedicated to the rule of law. He faced down the terrorists, and since then issues of separatism have been dealt with at the ballot box. While he successfully defended the rule of law, Canadians recognize the advances he instituted to preserve Canada's unique cultural diversity.

Mr. Trudeau had a different view of geopolitics than did most of the American administrations with which he dealt. It is said that he succeeded, at times, in aggravating U.S. presidents from Nixon to Reagan.

Some of this had to do, in my opinion, with the nature of the relationship between our countries. While Canada is the second largest political land-mass in the world, its population is small, approximately one-tenth of ours, and its economy is dwarfed by ours. In fact, the former Prime Minister famously said once: "Living next to you is in some ways like sleeping with an elephant. No matter how friendly and even-tempered is the beast, one is affected by every twitch and grunt."

While Mr. Trudeau held substantively different views on the world than many American leaders, he demonstrated that policy disputes can exist and nations remain civilized and respectful. And that is how I think of former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau.

In closing, I wish to note another story his son, Justin, told at his father's funeral this week. He recounted how, as a child, his father took him one day for lunch at the cafeteria in Ottawa's Parliament. There, young Justin saw a political rival of his father and made a childish crack about him to his dad. His father sternly rebuked him and, according to his son, said "You never attack the person. You may be in total disagreement with the person; however, you shouldn't denigrate him." That day, Pierre Trudeau taught his son, who is now a teacher, that "having different opinions from those of another person should in no way stop you from holding them in the greatest respect possible as people."

That is the principle of a civilized man, and the practice of a civilized nation. As the world bids adieu to Pierre Trudeau, I extend my deepest condolences to his family and to all the good citizens of our great neighbor Canada.